



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARISTOPHANES. II

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

In this article two topics will receive such discussion as is possible within brief limits: the critical use of the manuscripts of Aristophanes to the middle of the nineteenth century, and the employment of symbols to designate them.

Investigation has not yet disclosed the particular manuscripts that Musurus used in constituting the text of the *Princeps*, published by Aldus in Venice in 1498. They may no longer be extant, except perhaps as bindings in Aldine editions. At the end of the *Aves* Musurus speaks of "divers copies" from which he compiled the scholia.<sup>1</sup> In his dedication of the book, Aldus says he omits a tenth play, the *Lysistrata*, "quia vix dimidiata haberet a nobis potuit."

The range of the investigation of the source of the *Princeps* is gradually narrowing as the contents of the manuscripts become better known, and it seems not improbable that in time we shall be able to determine, if not the immediate source of this important book, at least the branch to which it belongs in the stemma of existing manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

The second edition of Aristophanes, published in Florence in 1515, is a reprint of the text of the Aldine, but the text was

<sup>1</sup> Αριστοφάνους κωμῳδιῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς σχολίων ἀρχαῖοις συντεθέντων γραμματικοῖς, ἀ δὴ σποράδην ἐν ἀντιγράφοις κείμενα διαφέροις καὶ πεφυρμένως συνειλεκταὶ τε καὶ ὡς οἶν τ' ἦν ἐπιμελέστατα διώρθωται παρὰ Μάρκου Μουσούρου τοῦ Κρητός, τέλος. The seven plays were the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Equites*, *Acharnenses*, *Vespae*, *Aves*. The original intention of Aldus, without doubt, was to end the book with the *Aves*, but subsequently he added the *Pax* and *Ecclesiazusae*.

<sup>2</sup> W. Dindorf, in the preface to his *Acharnenses* (1828), says of the *Princeps*: "ex uno eoque non optimo libro facta esse videtur." In his Oxford edition of Aristophanes (III. xvi), published in 1837, his view has shifted: "ex uno pluribusve infimae aetatis codicibus esse compositam vitorum multitudo ostendit." Zuretti, in his *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), pp. 35-84, maintains that Cod. Estensis III D 8, which once belonged to Musurus, is virtually the sole source of the text of the Aldine Aristophanes for the six plays which the manuscript contains, and that this manuscript and Cod. Ambrosianus L 41 are the chief sources of its scholia. See Zacher, who dissents, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* LXXI (1892), pp. 30 ff.

revised,<sup>1</sup> and the editor, Bernardo Giunta, seems to have had the help of manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> It contains the same plays as the Aldine book, but without scholia. Four months later the same house issued, as an appendix, two plays not previously published, the *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Lysistrata*. In the dedication of this little book the editor says that they were obtained from a manuscript which contained also other plays of Aristophanes and belonged to the library in Urbino.<sup>3</sup> This was the Codex Ravennas.<sup>4</sup>

The third edition of Aristophanes was issued from the Juntine press in Florence in 1525, under the editorship of Francinus. This contains the nine plays in the Aldine edition, with scholia, in the order followed in that book, and gives for the first time verses 948–1011 of the *Pax*. Only eight manuscripts are extant which have this play, and five<sup>5</sup> of these do not contain the verses mentioned. If, therefore, they were secured for the edition of 1525 from a manuscript now extant, this must have been either the Ravennas or the Venetus.<sup>6</sup> Dindorf declared for the Ravennas.<sup>7</sup> A collation of the Ravennas and the Venetus with the text of these verses in the second Juntine book neither confirms his statement nor proves it to be erroneous.<sup>8</sup> The book, in fact, shows considerable variations from both manuscripts, which may be due to editorial revision. A collation, however, of the scholia

<sup>1</sup> The editor, speaking of the plays in the Aldine edition, says: “easdem hic quoque nos maxima diligentia recognitas summoque labore castigatas nostris typis meliores reddere conati sumus.”

<sup>2</sup> Raper noted that entire verses, lacking in the Princeps, are found in the first Juntine: *Ran.* 515, *Ec.* 469, 470 (see Invernizi, III, p. xxxi). He remarks also other variations in text that certainly indicate the use of manuscripts. Dindorf thought that these were codices Laurentiani (ed. *Eccles.* iv; ed. Oxon. III. xvi).

<sup>3</sup> “Venit mi Francise expectata dies illa in qua ex Urbinate bibliotheca antiquissimum Aristophanis exemplar nacti sumus ibique inter alias *Δυσιστράτην* καὶ Θεσμοφοριαζόντας . . . non alias visas comedias invenimus.”

<sup>4</sup> See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Laurentianus XXXI. 15, Parisini 2715 and 2717, Havniensis 1980, and Palatinus 67.

<sup>6</sup> The eighth manuscript, Cod. Venetus 475 (G), is a copy of Cod. 474. See *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 3 f.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Oxon. IV. iv.

<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere, however, the text seems to show close relation with the Ravennas. For example, in the first three hundred verses of the *Aves*, it agrees with the Ravennas solely against fourteen other manuscripts, the Princeps and Junta I as follows: 75 γ' ἀτ'; 164 πειθώμεσθ'; 177 τι δ'; 216 σμίλακος; 227 ἐποποι· ποίπο· ποποποι· ποποι·; 293 ἐπι τῶν λόφων.

in the Ravennas and the Venetus with those in the book is decisive. It not only contains none of the scholia which are found in the Venetus, but are not in the Ravennas—and these are numerous—but in case of differences between the manuscripts invariably follows the older. The scholia on 948–1011 in *Junta II* were derived either from the Ravennas or from a manuscript, not now extant, which was very closely related to it.

Nevertheless, it seems to me highly improbable that the Cod. Ravennas was in the hands of Francinus in 1525. In the dedication of the second Juntine edition the editor boasts of the perfection of his book and of its superiority to both the editions of the poet that preceded it. But it does not contain the *Thesmophoriazusae* nor the *Lysistrata*, although the text of both these plays had been published, under the editorship of B. Giunta, by the same house early in 1516 from the Cod. Ravennas. This manuscript contains scholia on each play, and it is hardly credible that Francinus would have neglected the opportunity to complete his book by adding these plays, adorned by the commentary that had never yet been published, if the press still had control of the manuscript. It had originally come into its possession by the interposition of Euphrosynus Boninus, who had obtained it from the library in Urbino. But he did not return it thither, and it is to be presumed that in 1525 it was safely in his possession in Pisa,<sup>1</sup> and that he declined again to relinquish it. He may have sent a copy of the missing verses of the *Pax*, with excerpts<sup>2</sup> from the scholia, or these may have been copied out in 1516 against a future edition.

The edition of 1525, however, does contain scholia that are not found in the Aldine edition. These occur in the notes on the *Plutus* and *Nubes*, but practically disappear in the plays that follow.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it was observed by Raper that vs. 132 of the *Ranae* occurs in the book, although it is in neither of the

<sup>1</sup>On Boninus as professor in Pisa, see Poccianti, *Catalogus Scriptorum Florentinorum*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>The following scholia in the Ravennas are omitted in the book: on 961, 967, 995, 1007, 1008 *bis*, 1009, 1011, and in part on 959, 968.

<sup>3</sup>They are specially marked by a symbol in Küster's edition. See also Dindorf, ed. Oxon. IV. ix.

preceding editions, and also that some variant readings occur that indicate the use of manuscript sources.<sup>1</sup>

Hemsterhuis<sup>2</sup> asserts that Francinus in the second Juntine edition depended on late, inferior manuscripts, whenever he departed from the Princeps. This adverse judgment is controverted by Reisig,<sup>3</sup> who blames Brunck for perpetuating it, and says that there is no more accurate edition of the *Vespa* and *Pax* than that of Francinus.<sup>4</sup>

Before 1525 a separate edition of the *Plutus* and *Ranae*, single editions of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*, and a Latin version of the *Plutus* (1501) had appeared. After 1525 both 'complete' editions of the poet and editions of single plays multiplied with great rapidity. But the books bred in, and the independent use of manuscripts must have been rare. The editors practically never make mention of *libri scripti*,<sup>5</sup> and are in general studiously

<sup>1</sup> See Invernizi, III, pp. xxxiii f.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition of the *Plutus*, p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Coniectaneorum in Aristophanem libri duo* (1816), pp. xvi f.

<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that we are not yet adequately informed in regard to these earliest editions of Aristophanes, which in some particulars have the importance of manuscripts. It will be the task of some patient man to determine the facts by an investigation of the relation of the two Juntine editions to one another, to the Princeps, and to the Cod. Ravennas, which is now easily accessible in facsimile, and of both these editions also to the Florentine manuscripts. See Dindorf in the preface to his edition of the *Acharnenses* (1828).

<sup>5</sup> I have noted a few exceptions. Vettori wrote in the margin of his copy of the Princeps against vss. 1748-1754 of the *Aves*: "Sic distincta sunt haec carmina in vet. cod. ex bibliotheca Divi Marci, cum quo totam comoediam contulimus." See *Acta Phil. Mon.* I (1812), p. 402. I ventured the suggestion in 1902 (in the preface to *Facsimile of the Codex Venetus Marcianus 474*, p. 6, n. 1) that the manuscript to which Vettori refers was Venetus 474, but the investigations of my colleague, Dr. Cary, show intimate relationship in the *Aves* between Vettori's notes and Laurentianus XXXI. 15 (Γ). It remains to be determined whether Laurentianus XXXI. 15 was ever in the library of S. Marco in Florence.—Fédéric Morel published in Paris in 1586 an edition of the *Pax* "cum emendationibus et variis lectionibus e codice manuscripto in bibliotheca reginae matris" (Catharine de' Medici). This book I have not seen.—Oresteien also made sparing use of Paris manuscripts in his edition of the *Pax* (1589). He has recorded his difficulties and reflexions: "Nullum ex his verbis [οὐκ ἔπει τῶν ξύλων Pax 1133] bonum sensum venari possum, cumque diutius me torsisset hic locus, conquisivi quae potui exemplaria manu scripta. Atque adeo cum aditus mihi patuisse in Bibliothecam Mediceam, quae Parisiis est, quamque sub Reginae matris praestantissimae heroinae auspiciis et stipendiis diligentie custodia tanquam vigil draco mala aurea tuerit et servat vir doctus Bellebranchaeus Antistes, incidi in exemplaria vetusta duo; sed incertior inde discessi, quam eram. Nam lectionem hanc deprehendi οὐκ ἔδω, nostra adhuc pejorem. Scio manuscriptos libros magnum adferre has

silent as to their printed sources. Almost all the early books neglect to acknowledge their forbears.

The critical use of manuscripts which the editor names with such definiteness that in general they can now be identified begins with Küster in his monumental variorum edition published in 1710. Zacagni, at this time librarian of the Vatican, furnished him with collations of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranæ*, and *Aves* in Cod. Urbinas 141<sup>1</sup> and of the *Equites*, *Acharnenses*, *Vespæ*, *Pax*, and *Lysistrata* in Cod. Palatinus 67.<sup>2</sup> He had at his command also collations of the *Plutus* in a Cod. Bodleianus, which Dobree thought might be the *Lincolniensis* in Oxford, of the *Plutus* and *Nubes* in the *Arundelianus* now in the British Museum, and of the *Lysistrata* in an apograph of Vossianus 77 now in Leyden. This apograph, which enabled him to print the scholia on the *Lysistrata* for the first time, was sent to him from Cambridge by Bentley and is now in the library of Trinity College. Küster mentions the use also of a "Baroccianus" in constituting the text of the scholia on the *Lysistrata*. He probably refers to the scholia in Bentley's apograph extracted from Baroccianus 38 to supply the omissions in Vossianus 77.<sup>3</sup> Excerpts also of scholia from Vaticanus 1294 and Urbinas 141 were sent to Küster from Rome and enabled him to state the important fact that many of the Aldine

litteras tractantibus auxilium, sed profecto saepe accedit, ut falsas lectiones et corruptas quas habent plerunque vetuste scripti codices amplectantur qui iudicio pravo parvoque lectionis usu praediti accedunt ad veteres illas tabulas et quasi litterarum naufragia." He finally proposes *εὐκεαστῶν* for *οὐκ ἔργος τῶν*, and thinks well of his emendation.

<sup>1</sup> Küster says simply "Ms. Vaticano-Urbinas," but the only other Urbinas in the Vatican collection that comprises plays of Aristophanes does not contain the *Aves*.

<sup>2</sup> Küster says simply "Ms. Vaticano-Palatinus," but Cod. 67 is the only Palatinus of Aristophanes that contains the five plays he names. Of this Vaticanus Dobree said in 1820: "Contulit Zacagnius in usum Kusteri, qui praeter lectiones in editis notis memoratas, quaedam notavit in margine editionis Porti. Liber in Hemsterhusii potestatem venit (vide eum ad Plut. p. 482) et nunc est in bibliotheca Leidensi." By "liber" Dobree meant the annotated edition of Portus, as reference to Hemsterhuis makes clear, but Dobree's note has been the source of an error which needs correction. Both Thiersch (ed. of the *Plutus*, p. xxxvi) and Teuffel (second ed. of the *Nubes*, p. 24) state that the *manuscript* is in the library in Leyden.

<sup>3</sup> Küster did not use Vos's manuscript but an apograph. See Dobree's note on *Lysistrata* 200, in *Porsoni Notae*, p. 226, and in the Addenda, p. (148). See also, on the various Leyden 'Lysistratas,' G. Stein, *Scholia in Aristophanis Lysistratam*, pp. xxx ff. — Bentley, it seems, used also Baroccianus 127. See *Classical Journal* XII, p. 104.

scholia were not 'old' but were due to Thomas Magister and John Tzetzes.<sup>1</sup>

In 1744 Hemsterhuis published his edition of the *Plutus*, in which he first made use of the D'Orvillianus now in Oxford and of Leidensis 34.<sup>2</sup> In the second edition of this important book (1811), the editor, Schaefer, prints extracts from Parisinus 2827 which had been made for him by Bast.

J. G. Trendelenburg published in 1780<sup>3</sup> readings of the *Plutus* from the Elbingensis, a manuscript of which Harles also subsequently made use through Trendelenburg's good offices.

Thomas Burgess, in his edition of the *Miscellanea Critica* of Dawes issued in 1781, published variants of Barocciani 43 and 127 on passages dealt with by Dawes. Burgess recorded the lacunae in Cod. 43.

Richard Brunck of Strassburg first made systematic use of manuscripts housed in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in his celebrated edition of Aristophanes issued in 1781–83. These manuscripts were Cod. Regii 2712, 2715, 2717, a "Regius Bombycinus," which had not been given a regular number in the printed catalogue of 1740, but was almost certainly Supplement 135,<sup>4</sup> and Regius 2820, which he used for supplementary emendation on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*. Besides these Brunck used another bombycine manuscript which he designates as "Codex Meus" and gives the symbol D,<sup>5</sup> and, in editing the *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*, an "Augustanus" (Cod. Monacensis 492<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>See Küster's *Praefatio*, p. ii, and Zacher, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. XVI (1888), pp. 561 f. Also, on the Tzetzian scholia on the *Aves* in Urbinas 141, White, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XII (1901), pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See his edition, pp. xvi and 381.

<sup>3</sup>In *Bibliotheca philologica et critica*, Göttingen, I (1780), pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Brunck says (at the beginning of his notes on the *Plutus*): "Initio Codicis C. interierunt folia aliquot, quibus continebantur praeter argumentum versus fabulae 68. primi, et scholia in 65. horum priores." Cf. with this Omont's description of Supplement 135 (*Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* III, p. 221). The identification, which was assumed by Bothe in his edition of the *Ranae* (1828), p. iii, still lacks final confirmation.

<sup>5</sup>See *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 6 f.

<sup>6</sup>492, not 192. This manuscript is a transcript of the Ravennas. See Enger, *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. II, p. 245, whose statement is confirmed by W. G. Clark, *Journal of Philology* III, p. 160, and von Velsen, *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusen*, p. 7.

In his edition of the *Nubes* published in 1788, Harles, the editor of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Fabricius, used a Cod. Bavariensis (Monacensis 137), from which collations of the *Nubes* and *Ranae* were made for him by Ammon. Trendelenburg also furnished him readings of both the *Nubes* and the *Ranae* from the Elbingensis. The collations of the *Ranae* from these two manuscripts are published in an appendix.<sup>1</sup> Harles includes in his book also an argument of the *Nubes*<sup>2</sup> found in Cod. Matritensis 67. This he extracted from Iriarte's catalogue. He states, furthermore, that Matthaei had sent to him readings of the *Plutus* from a Cod. Moscouiensis, but no use of them can be traced.

The ponderous edition of Aristophanes planned by Invernizi began to appear in 1794. He has the distinction of being the first modern scholar to make use of the Ravennas. The manuscript had been seen by D'Orville at Ravenna in 1728, but he simply catalogued it.<sup>3</sup> Invernizi, by the liberality of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, had command also of a Cod. Borgianus.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript was sent to him from the Museum Velerium, and it furnished him readings of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*,<sup>5</sup> and *Ranae*.

J. A. Ernesti had contributed a preface on the scholia to the edition of the *Nubes* that was reprinted from Küster's edition at Leipzig in 1753. Ernesti then began to collect materials for a new edition and collated manuscripts. His notes on the *Nubes* were published after his death<sup>6</sup> and furnished a basis for G. Hermann's two editions of the play. Ernesti himself described the manuscripts he had consulted in these words: "Sub signo R. adscripta est varietas Codicis Regii collati cum exemplo Basileensi Frobenii. Igitur interdum, ubi illa lectio iam est in textu Kust. adscripta: Sic Kust. Vbi nihil diversitatis notatum est, consentit cum Basil. —L. est Cod. Leidensis. C. Coislianus, nunc regius. Ia. Iesuit. Paris. primus. Ib. Ies. Paris. secundus. I. Cod. Ies. uterque." This is a vague and meager description, but Ernesti's readings

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 232-244.

<sup>2</sup> IX in Dindorf and Dübner.

<sup>3</sup> See T. W. Allen in *The Academy* XXXVI (1889), p. 59, and *Journal of Philology* XXIV (1896), p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 7, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Nubes*, not *Aves*, as by a slip of the pen Invernizi says in his preface, p. xiii.

<sup>6</sup> Io. Aug. Ernesti *Observationes philologico-criticae in Aristophanis Nubes*, 1795.

from these manuscripts have often been quoted. Hermann, in his first edition of the *Nubes* (1799), identified Ernesti's "Regius" with Brunck's A (Cod. Parisinus 2712). Dobree concluded that Ernesti's "Leidensis" was the same manuscript (Leidensis 34) that Hemsterhuis had used in editing the *Plutus*.<sup>1</sup> Ernesti's "Coislianus, nunc regius" von Sinner<sup>2</sup> would identify with Cod. Coislinianus 354,<sup>3</sup> as also the "Iesuit. Paris. primus" with Parisinus Suppl. 97.<sup>4</sup>

F. A. Wolf, in the preface<sup>5</sup> to his translation of the *Nubes* which appeared in 1811, states that he had collated in Vienna and Munich six good manuscripts of which no use had previously been made, but was not able to avail himself largely of their readings.

Reisig in his often quoted *Coniectaneorum in Aristophanem libri duo* (1816) acknowledges his obligations to Thiersch for readings of the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Nubes* that A. Nickel had excerpted from a manuscript in Munich.<sup>6</sup> Seidler also had furnished him readings "ex suis MSS." One of these was a *Venetus*.<sup>7</sup> In his edition of the *Nubes* (1820) Reisig made independent use of the D'Orvillianus previously employed by Hemsterhuis.

W. Dindorf made the first of his important and long-continued contributions to the study of Aristophanes, at the age of eighteen, with his edition of the *Pax* published at Leipzig in 1820.<sup>8</sup> He also was indebted to Seidler for readings of the *Pax* from *Venetus* 474.

In 1820 appeared Porson's *Notae in Aristophanem*, edited by Dobree. This book was a noteworthy addition to the resources of students of the comic poet, both in respect to the number of

<sup>1</sup> *Porsoni Notae in Aristophanem*, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristophanis Nubes* (1834), p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that this is the only manuscript in the Coislin collection that contains plays of Aristophanes.

<sup>4</sup> This manuscript belonged originally to the Collège des Jésuites de Clermont. On the suppression of the order of the Jesuits the manuscripts of the Collège were purchased *en bloc* by Gérard Meermann, in 1764, and left France; but certain manuscripts in the collection were presented by Meermann to the King, among others this book.

<sup>5</sup> P. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> See Reisig, p. v. The manuscript was Monacensis 137. Harles had previously published its readings of the *Nubes* and *Ranæ* as has been stated on the preceding page.

<sup>7</sup> See Reisig, p. xviii.

<sup>8</sup> The same year the seventh volume of the Invernizi edition appeared under Dindorf's editorship.

manuscripts whose readings it furnished for the first time and in its critical accuracy. Porson had collated Harleianus 5664 and Baroccianus 34, and had made independent use of Barocciani 43 and 127, the D'Orvillianus and Bentley's copy of Vossianus 77. Dobree's contribution was noteworthy: the manuscripts in the library of the University of Cambridge (2626, 2614, 2627), Harleiani 5725 and 6307, and for the *Aves* Vossianus 191, now in Leyden. He used also readings of Monacensis 137 which Thiersch had sent to him, in editing the *Ecclesiazusae*, and inspected the Arundelianus afresh.<sup>1</sup>

Cod. Havniensis 1980 was first used by W. Dindorf in his edition of the *Aves* (1822). A collation of this play, made by Bloch, is given in the preface, but it has been neglected by subsequent editors. In his *Ecclesiazusae* (1826), he published readings of Laurentianus XXXI. 15 ( $\Gamma$ ),<sup>2</sup> which were sent to him by del Furia, and in his *Acharnenses* (1828) he had at command collations both of this manuscript and of Laurentianus XXXI. 16 ( $\Delta$ ). In his text edition of the eleven plays published in 1830 he added Laurentianus 2779 ( $\Theta$ ).

I. Bekker, in the course of his unwearied but hurried investigations in the libraries of southern Europe, twice collated Venetus 474, in Paris in 1812 and again in Venice in 1819. He seems to have made over his collations both of this manuscript and of the Ravennas to Seidler, who intended to publish them. Seidler's book never appeared, but he put the material at the command of other scholars, Reisig, Dindorf,<sup>3</sup> G. Hermann, and Fritzsche. Dindorf published readings of the Venetus not only in his edition of the *Pax* but also, though few in number, in his *Aves* (1822) and *Ranæ* (1824). Hermann in 1830 acknowledged his indebt-

<sup>1</sup>Since brief mention of the first use of *libri manuscripti* alone is here intended, mention is purposely omitted of certain early editions of Aristophanes to which Porson and Dobree had access, with marginal readings whose provenance is not always certain, although presumably they were copied from manuscripts. Many such books are preserved, especially in the libraries of northern Europe.

<sup>2</sup>Two years earlier, in his *Ranæ* (1824), Dindorf gives readings of "Florentinus b" on the first one hundred and eight verses, but fails to designate the book so that it can be identified. In his preface he intimates his knowledge of "Libri Florentini octo," and adds "De his propediem alio loco agetur."

<sup>3</sup>See the preceding page.

edness to Seidler for readings from both the *Venetus* and the *Ravennas*,<sup>1</sup> as likewise Fritzsche in 1837.<sup>2</sup> Bekker had inspected also *Venetus* 475 (G) and in 1818 had collated the *Ravennas* anew, convinced that the collations used by Invernizi were not to be trusted. In Paris he had collated also, for the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*, certain "Codices Mutinenses," which had been brought thither from northern Italy.<sup>3</sup> All this material appeared in his edition of Aristophanes published in London in 1829. He had given attention not only to the text of the play but also to the ancient commentary and was the first to publish the old scholia on the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and from *Venetus* 474 he recast the scholia on the *Vespae* and *Pax*.

In 1829 Tafel published readings of the *Tubingensis* in the fourth volume of Seebode's *Neues Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, and those on the *Plutus* are reprinted by Thiersch in his edition of this play,<sup>4</sup> which appeared in 1830. In this book Thiersch first published readings of the *Plutus* in *Monacensis* 137. He states that he had been informed by Ernest Hecht, just as his book was going through the press, that recently, while on his travels in Italy, he had seen five "Codices Ambrosiani" in Milan, and adds: "Quum vero codices Ambrosiani omnes praeter alias fabulas Plutum quoque exhibeant, quod mihi sero innotuerunt, sane dolendum est"! Thiersch prints in his *Addenda* a brief description of these five manuscripts prepared by Hauthal.<sup>5</sup> Another important Milan manuscript was shortly to be laid under contribution by Dindorf. Thiersch collated *Monacensis* 492 afresh for his edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae* which appeared in 1832.

L. von Sinner, in his duodecimo edition of the *Nubes* (1834), calls attention to eight manuscripts in the Royal Library in Paris that contain the *Nubes* but had never been collated.<sup>6</sup> He thinks their collation would yield important results, but he declines to undertake the task himself.

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of the *Nubes*, p. x, Hermann had recourse to Seidler because he found Bekker's London edition carelessly printed.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 7. <sup>4</sup> Pp. 257 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. cdlxxxi f. The manuscripts were C 222, F 40, A 65, A 100, A 97.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. 2598, 2716, 2718, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, Suppl. 58.

W. Dindorf's *Annotationes* appeared at Oxford in 1837. For these he collated Vossianus 77,<sup>1</sup> whose readings had previously been quoted from Bentley's apograph with such corrections as Dobree had been able to publish in 1820,<sup>2</sup> and edited for the first time the readings of the *Lysistrata* in Laurentianus XXXI. 16 (Δ). It does not appear that Dindorf himself was ever in Italy.<sup>3</sup> In only two instances, so far as I can learn, does he state to whom he is indebted for new readings of the text in Italian manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> He is totally silent as to the sources of his information in regard to them in the preface to his *Annotationes*, yet he was the first to make known the contents of three Florentine books (Γ Δ Θ). In like manner his acknowledgment of the nature of his obligations for assistance in editing his *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (1838) is expressed in very vague terms.<sup>5</sup> There is no precise statement of the labors of Emmanuel Miller in his behalf, although they must have been serious.<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding its inaccuracies, due to the tremendous pace at which Dindorf worked all his life long, the book marks an advance in our knowledge of the ancient commentary on Aristophanes. In editing the scholia Dindorf had at his command collations in whole or in part of six manuscripts: Ravennas, Veneti 474 and 475, Laurentiani XXXI. 15 and 2779, Ambrosianus L 39. The Ambrosianus was now brought into service for the first time.

The library of Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses collations of many manuscripts of Aristophanes that were made at different times by W. G. Clark, the accomplished editor of Shakspere. Clark's activity falls in the period just after 1850, but his work should be recorded. His critical skill was remarkable. In 1867 he had completed part of a commentary on the *Acharnians*, and this

<sup>1</sup> A fly-leaf in Leidensis 52 records that this manuscript had been sent to Leipzig for Dindorf's use in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Porsoni Notae, Addenda* p. (148).

<sup>3</sup> See I. v. Müller's *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, 1883, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Seidler and del Furia. See above, pp. 262 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the preface, p. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> "En 1835, Miller fut chargé d'une mission en Italie pour recueillir les scolies d'Aristophane." Salomon Reinach in I. v. Müller's *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 15. Miller was at this time twenty-three years of age.

was subsequently published<sup>1</sup> just as it was left when he finally abandoned the work on which he had long been engaged. He had independently collated this play in the following manuscripts: Ambrosianus L 41; Barberinianus I 45; Estenses III D 8 and III D 14; Palatini 128 and 67; Ravennas; Laurentiani XXXI. 15 and 16; Parisini 2712, 2715 and 2717. The first five had never previously been used by any editor of Aristophanes. There are only two manuscripts in existence, besides the twelve he collated, that contain the *Acharnians*.<sup>2</sup> This, however, is simply an indication of Clark's range. His papers, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, show that he had made collations for all the eleven plays, and the extent to which he had single-handed laid the libraries of Europe under contribution was extraordinary when compared with the results of the labors of scholars who had preceded him. He had himself collated, in whole or in part, the following manuscripts, in addition to the twelve already named: Veneti 474 and 475, Urbinas 141, Vaticanus 1294, Palatinus 116, Ambrosianus L 39, Laurentiani XXXI. 4 and 13, LXXX. 26, XCI. 7, 66 (A F 2715), 140 (A F 2779), Monacenses 137 and 492.<sup>3</sup> Six of these had never previously been used by editors of the text of the comic poet. Scholars must feel poignant regret that Clark, because of ill-health, finally relinquished the edition of Aristophanes for which he had collected materials so ample and which he was so singularly well-fitted to write.

It appears from this brief summary that editors of Aristophanes have made recorded use of manuscripts, in establishing the text of the eleven plays, for about two hundred years. Their employment of symbols in referring to the manuscripts, to pass to my second topic, has not been consistent. The early editors, as was natural, used such designations as seemed good to them; their successors either disregarded these or made only partial use of them. The result is confusion.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Journal of Philology* VIII (1879), pp. 177 ff., and IX (1880), pp. 1 ff., 165 ff. Clark furnished von Velsen with a collation of the *Equites* in Parisinus 2712, which von Velsen used in his critical edition of this play (1869).

Havnienensis 1980 and Vallicellianus F 16.

<sup>3</sup> Clark passed many of his vacations on the Continent. He collated the Ravennas for the first time in 1852.

Küster refers to the manuscripts he used either by unabbreviated titles or has Cod. Vat. U., Cod. Vat. (Vat. P.), Cod. Bodlej., Cod. Arund. (Arundell.), Cod. Voss. In his edition of the *Plutus* Hemsterhuis designates his two manuscripts as C. D'O. and C. LB. Trendelenburg has Cod. Elb. (Elbing.); Burgess, Ms. 43 and Ms. 127.<sup>1</sup>

Brunck was the first editor to use single capitals of the Roman alphabet to designate certain of his books, but with regrettable economy, although he had the whole alphabet at his command, he made the first three letters do service for four manuscripts. He styles Parisinus 2712 as A in his notes on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*; Parisinus 2715 as B on the *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*, but as A on the *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Lysistrata*; Parisinus 2717 as C on the *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*, but as B on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Lysistrata*; his Regius Bombycinus<sup>2</sup> as C on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*. His "Codex Meus" he designates as D. Of subsequent editors some have followed Brunck's intricate nomenclature, but the majority have designated each manuscript by a single letter, 2712 by A,<sup>3</sup> 2715 by B, 2717 by C,<sup>4</sup> the Regius Bombycinus and Brunck's own manuscript, on Dindorf's lead (1837), respectively by D and E.<sup>5</sup>

Thus at the start Brunck entailed confusion, but he must not be harshly judged by exasperated editors for his lack of foresight. He was not a modest man, as his preface makes manifest,<sup>6</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 259 f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann identified Ernesti's R with Brunck's A, but nevertheless in the notes of both his editions of the *Nubes* he maintains the two designations of the manuscript, although he uses A more sparingly in the edition of 1830 than in that of 1799. Blaydes, in the *Conspectus* prefixed to his edition of the text (*Aristophanis comicis quae supersunt opera*, 1886, pp. lxv ff.), proposes Par. 1 as the designation of Ernesti's R.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf adopted A, B and C, in exclusive application to 2712, 2715, 2717 respectively, in 1837; previously he had followed Brunck, except in his edition of the *Ecclesiazusae* (1826), in which 2715 is D.

<sup>5</sup> Some editors have adopted new designations for these manuscripts. Thus 2712: Teuffel (1856) a; Rogers (1902) P; 2715: Thiersch (1830) G; Rogers (1867) P; Rogers (1902) P<sup>1</sup>; 2717: Teuffel (1856) b; Rogers (1867) II; Rogers (1902) P<sup>2</sup>; "Regius Bombycinus": Teuffel (1856) c; Rogers (1902) P<sup>3</sup>; "Codex Meus": Teuffel (1856) d; Rogers (1902) P<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> "Aristophanis quae ad hunc diem prodierunt editiones, si vel optimae omnium epigraphen quis inscripsisset. ΒΟΡΒΟΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΩΡ ΑΕΙ ΝΩΝ, haud sinistre facetissimi ipsius Comici verbis judicium animi significasse videretur. E tetra col-

notwithstanding his high opinion of his own performance, he can not have imagined that his edition would play so important a rôle as it was destined to have. Furthermore he lived in Strassburg in troublous times, was a public official, and worked in the midst of confessed distractions.<sup>1</sup>

The first use of the remaining capitals that occur in modern European alphabets may be briefly stated in tabular form. In each entry, other designations that have been used to denominate the manuscript to which the letter was appropriated are added after the dash. These designations, especially the early ones, were often followed by immediately subsequent editors.<sup>2</sup>

R Parisinus 2712, Ernesti-Hermann (1795, 1799, 1830).—Par. 1; A, a, P.  
 L Leidensis 34,<sup>3</sup> Ernesti-Hermann (1795, 1799, 1830).—Leid., u, Leid. 5;  
     C. LB., Leid., Leid. 4.  
 E Parisinus 2820,<sup>4</sup> Höpfner (*Ranae*, 1797).—quartus Regius, F, e, P<sup>4</sup>.  
 F Cantabrigiensis 2627, Kidd (1817).—4 or Cant. 4, Dobraeli quartus,  
     Dobr. 4, g.  
 I Harleianus 5664, Kidd. (1817).—A, M, Harl., Harl. 1, H, L.  
 T Harleianus 6307, Kidd (1817).—6 or Harl. 6, H, Dobraeli sextus, Ask.,  
     Harl., Harl. 3, Dobr. 6, i, L<sup>1</sup>.

luvie vix tandem extractus, elegantiorum hominum in conspectum prodit totius antiquitatis scriptor ingeniosissimus, idemque terti sermonis Attici exemplar perfectissimum, studio meo nitidior multo, quam erat antea, factus, nec tamen ita, ut eum esse vellem, ab omni sorde purgatus.”

<sup>1</sup> He describes the painstaking care with which he constituted and twice copied his text with his own hand (see *Classical Philology* I, 1906, p. 2), and airily adverting to the mistakes a copyist is sure to make, adds: “nec hujus inconsiderantiae necesse duco ut me purgem, veniamque petam: quin mirari subit laetarique, bonam Fortunam frequentioribus istiusmodi lapsibus mihi cassissem, maxime quum recordor, partem haud minimam istarum fabularum a me descriptam iterum fuisse, dum in museo meo vel ludebat filius meus, quo animum meum nihil magis advertit oblectatque, vel confabulabantur boni quidam viri, qui quot fere diebus horisque matutinis ad me visere solent”! On this Porson, in his famous review of the book, remarks: “Tantamne rem tam negligenter? I think in such a case I should have sent Master Brunck out of the room. Pugh! says Mr. B. (or I suppose would say if he read Shakspeare) ‘He talks to me that never had a son.’ But to be serious: What right has a man to publish a work of this kind in a hurry?”

<sup>2</sup> Raper proposed in 1797 the following designations of manuscripts to be used in an edition which he was planning to publish: U for Küster's Urbinas, P for his Palatinus, B for his Bodleianus, A for his Arundelianus, V for his Vossianus, and O for the D'Orvillianus used by Hemsterhuis. Raper's book was never issued.

<sup>3</sup> I accept Dobree's identification of Ernesti's L. with the Leidensis used by Hemsterhuis. See above, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> This was Brunck's sixth manuscript, used in his *Addenda* without literal designation.

P Vaticanus Palatinus 67, Dobree (1820).—Vat., Vat.-Pal., Vaticanus, *r*,  
Vat. P.

U Vaticanus Urbinas 141, Dobree (1820).<sup>1</sup>—Vat. U., Vaticanus, Vat.,  
Urb., *q*.

V Vossianus 191,<sup>2</sup> Dobree (1820).—Vossianus, Leid. 6,  $\Gamma$ .

G Cantabrigiensis 2626, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—2 or Cant. 2, E, Dobraei  
secundus, Dobr. 2, *f*,  $C^1$ .

H Harleianus 6307, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—See above under T.

M Harleianus 5664, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—See above under I.

N Monacensis 492, Blaydes (1880).—Aug., G, H.

S Venetus 475, Blaydes (1882).—G,  $V^2$ .

W Vindobonensis 163, Blaydes (1886).—

Y Vindobonensis 210, Blaydes (1886).—W<sup>1</sup>.

Z Vindobonensis 227, Blaydes (1886).—W<sup>2</sup>.

O Baroccianus 127, Rogers (1902).—B., Bar. 3, E, Bodl. 1.

The symbols employed by the special editors of the prolegomena of Tzetzes  $\pi\tau\pi\iota\ \kappa\omega\mu\omega\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma$  are not included in this list nor in the list that follows.<sup>3</sup>

The confusion in existing practice is still more apparent, if one considers the different successive applications of each letter, as follows:

A Parisinus 2712, Parisinus 2715, Arundelianus, Harleianus 5664,  
Ravennas.

B Parisinus 2715, Parisinus 2717, Baroccianus 127, Venetus 474, Bor-  
gianus.

C Parisinus 2717, Brunck's "Bombycinus," Ernesti's "Coislianus," Can-  
tabrigiensis 2614, Cantabrigiensis 2626.

D Brunck's "Meus," Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2715, Brunck's  
"Bombycinus," D'Orvillianus.

E Parisinus 2820, Cantabrigiensis 2626, Brunck's "Meus," Baroccianus  
127, Elbingensis.

<sup>1</sup> Höpfner (*Ranae*, 1797) proposes V. or U., but in his critical notes has Ms. V.,  
Ms. Vat., Ms. Vat. V., Ms. Vatic. U., or the like.

<sup>2</sup> Now part of Leidensis 52.

<sup>3</sup> Four manuscripts besides manuscripts named in the list contain Tzetzian pro-  
legomena, but nothing else that relates to Aristophanes, as follows:

OXFORD

*Baroccianus 194* (B Kaibel) *S ff. 91 ff. + XV.*

*Miscellaneous 188* (B Cramer, M Kaibel) *S ff. 285 ff. + XVI.*

PARIS

*Parisinus 2403* (P Kaibel) *S ff. 17 ff. + XIII.*

ROME

*Vaticanus 1385* (V Studemund) *S ff. 89-98+ XV.*

F Cantabrigiensis 2627, Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2827, Parisinus 2820, Laurentianus XXXI. 15.

G Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2715, Venetus 475, Cantabrigiensis 2614, Monacensis 492, Parisinus 2827.

H Harleianus 6307, Harleianus 5725, Harleianus 5664, Monacensis 137, Monacensis 492.

I Harleianus 5664, Laurentianus 140 (AF 2779).

L Ernesti's Leidensis, Vossianus 77, Harleianus 5664.

M Harleianus 5664, Bekker's first Mutinensis, Ambrosianus L 39, Monacensis 137.

N Monacensis 492, Monacensis 137, Ambrosianus L 41.

O Baroccianus 127.

P Palatinus 67, Parisinus 2715, Palatinus 128, Parisinus 2712.

R Ernesti's Regius, Ravennas.

S Venetus 475.

T Harleianus 6307, Tubingensis, Venetus 472.

U Urbinas 141, Venetus 473.

V Vossianus 77, Vossianus 191, Venetus 474.

W Vindobonensis 163.

Y Vindobonensis 210.

Z Vindobonensis 227.

In the attempt to secure brief forms for use in repeated citation editors first resorted to self-interpreting abbreviations of the full names of the manuscripts. The adoption of capital letters was often a further application of the same principle, as Ernesti's R (Regius) and L (Leidensis), Dobree's P (Palatinus), U (Urbinas), and V (Vossianus); but Brunck, the first scholar to make use of capitals, applied them arbitrarily (A, B, C, D) and this has been the general practice. Some attempt was early made to designate manuscripts simply by Arabic numerals, as Porson 1 (Baroccianus 34) and 2 (Baroccianus 43), and Dobree 1, 2, 3, 4 (four Cantabrigienses), and 5, 6 (two Harleiani), but possible confusion of the numerals denoting the manuscripts with those designating the verses of the plays prevented this method from coming into vogue. At one time or another all capital letters of Roman source, except J, K, Q, and X, have been employed, but these proved to be insufficient and resort was had to capitals of the Greek alphabet. Some of these could not be used because of their similarity in form to Roman capitals: A,

B, E, Z, H,<sup>1</sup> I, K, M, N, O, P, T. Greek capitals have been employed as follows:

- Γ<sup>2</sup> Laurentianus XXXI. 15, Dindorf (*Acharnenses*, 1828).—Laur., F.
- Δ Laurentianus XXXI. 16, Dindorf (*Acharnenses*, 1828).—k, F<sup>1</sup>.
- Θ Laurentianus 140 (AF 2779), Dindorf (*Text Edition*, 1830).—I, F<sup>3</sup>.
- Π<sup>3</sup> Parisinus 2717, Rogers (*Pax*, 1867).—C, B, b, P<sup>2</sup>.
- Σ Laurentianus 607 (MN 88. 57), Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873–74).—
- Φ<sup>4</sup> Laurentianus 66 (AF 2715), Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873–74).—F<sup>4</sup>.
- Χ Laurentianus XXXI. 13, Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873–74).—F<sup>2</sup>.
- Ψ Laurentianus XXXI. 22, Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873–74).—
- Ω Laurentianus XXXI. 35,<sup>5</sup> Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873–74).—F<sup>3</sup>.
- Υ (See note 3 below.)
- Ξ Laurentianus XXXI. 19, Blaydes (*Plutus*, 1886).—

Scholars early became aware of the increasing confusion in the denomination of the manuscripts of Aristophanes. Dindorf gives practical evidence of this fact in the list he published in 1837,<sup>6</sup> in which he abandons some of his previous designations and starts afresh.<sup>7</sup> Teuffel, in his first edition of the *Nubes* (1856), offered a list of thirty-three manuscripts, to which he added the copy of the edition of Caninius, with marginal notes, now in Leyden.<sup>8</sup> He employed as symbols for these books the

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of the *Plutus* (1886) Blaydes drops into the use of H (which is sometimes printed H), but does not state here or elsewhere what this symbol signifies.

<sup>2</sup> Hall and Geldart in 1900 properly applied this symbol also to Leidensis 52. A. von Velsen first suggested that Laurentianus XXXI. 15 and Leidensis 52 were parts of the same manuscript. See *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusen des Aristophanes* (1871), p. 53, and also Zacher, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. XVI (1888), pp. 549 f., who adduces final proof.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Conspicetus* of his edition of the text (1886), Blaydes assigns (p. lxx) Π to Laurentianus XXXI. 4 and Υ to Laurentianus XXXI. 19, but in the same *Conspicetus* and elsewhere he denominates Laurentianus XXXI. 19 as Ξ. In his edition of the *Equites* published in 1875 he enters Τ simply as "Laurentianus XXXI," but in his voluminous critical notes on the play he has both Π and Υ, although Π is not entered in his "Catalogus Codicum." The same confusion is unhappily perpetuated in his edition of the *Equites* published in 1892.

<sup>4</sup> Employed by Rogers (*Vespae*, 1875) to designate Laurentianus XXXI. 16.

<sup>5</sup> By misprint this is designated in the "Catalogus Codicum" of the book as XXXI. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Oxoniensis III, pp. xiii–xvii. In IV, pp. iii ff. he gives an account of the manuscripts containing scholia. A fuller list of the latter was shortly published by Dübner, *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem* (1841), pp. xi f.

<sup>7</sup> In his use of the Symbols A, B, C, D, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> See *Porsoni Notae in Aristophanem*, p. viii.

first nine capitals and all the lower-case letters,<sup>1</sup> except j, of the modern alphabet.<sup>2</sup> Only one of his assignments tallies with the previous practice of any editor.<sup>3</sup> It is fifty years since Teuffel proposed his new denominations, but no subsequent editor of Aristophanes has adopted them.

A similar attempt to introduce system into the general disorder has recently been made by B. B. Rogers in the new series of admirable verse-translations of Aristophanes which he began to publish in 1902.<sup>4</sup> In the appendices of the three volumes already issued he has employed thirty-three manuscripts. He has wisely left undisturbed four denominations, R, V, M, U, which may be regarded as fixed. The principle on which he has symbolized the remaining manuscripts is best stated in his own words:

The letters by which the MSS. are designated vary in different editions of Aristophanes, and in none (except in the case of two or three of the principal MSS.) bear any relation to the MSS. themselves. I have therefore recast the nomenclature, denoting all the Venetian MSS. by the letter V, all the Parisian by P, all the Florentine by F, the Milanese by M, the Oxford by O, the Cambridge by C, the London by L, that of Modena by m, that of Monaco (formerly called *Portus Herculis*)<sup>5</sup> by H, the Viennese by W, the Elbing by E, and the Borgian by B, whilst I have retained the letters R and U for the Ravenna and the Vaticano-Urbinas respectively.

The veteran editor of Aristophanes, Blaydes, in his edition of the text (1886), published a complete list<sup>6</sup> of the manuscripts known to him and prefixed to them symbols. These manuscripts number more than ninety, including some used by early editors that have not yet been identified. Nineteen of them he designates by single capital letters of the modern alphabet, ten by Greek

<sup>1</sup> Bekker had previously used two lower-case letters, m and n, to denominate his second and third 'Mutinenses.'

<sup>2</sup> The list is repeated in his second edition (1863), pp. 22-24.

<sup>3</sup> F, assigned by Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824) to *Cantabrigiensis* 2626, but afterwards attached by him to *Parisinus* 2820.

<sup>4</sup> He had previously published at long intervals translations into verse of the *Clouds*, *Peace*, *Wasps* and *Lysistrata*, which have long been out of print. In 1902 the *Frogs* and *Ecclesiazusae* appeared, in 1904 the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Rogers must relinquish this pleasing ascription. The two manuscripts (Monacenses 137 and 492) he designates by the single letter H are in Munich.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. lxxv-lxxv.

capitals. The remainder are denominated by abbreviations consisting of three or four letters, to each of which is attached, with few exceptions, an Arabic numeral.<sup>1</sup>

It is highly desirable that scholars should agree, if possible, upon a method of symbolizing the manuscripts of Aristophanes adequate not only to denominate the two hundred and forty or more manuscripts that are now known but also to provide for any others that may be discovered. The determining principle is reasonably clear: so far as is practicable, the symbols chosen should be significant; they should each be of the smallest possible compass; they should be easy to distinguish even if ranged in order without spacing. No set of symbols, however, can ignore previous practice, and it may be well to consider this aspect of the problem first.

It is apparent that this practice is not uniform; on the contrary, it is so divergent that to trace the history of opinion about a passage is often perplexing and difficult. Nevertheless there are certain symbols, chiefly arbitrary, whose application may now be regarded as fixed: R, V, A, B, C, U,<sup>2</sup> Γ, Δ, Θ. To these should be added W, Y, Z, a recent set of symbols first applied by Blaydes to Vienna manuscripts, and also Ξ, Π,<sup>3</sup> Σ,<sup>4</sup> Φ, X, Ψ, Ω, assigned by him to Laurentian books. Blaydes has reported the contents, in whole or in part, of many manuscripts that had not previously been used, and no determination of symbols should be made that does not take his eleven monumental volumes into account. His reports are not always accurate, as was perhaps inevitable, and should be used with caution, but no editor is faultless and all students of the text of Aristophanes have substantial reasons for gratitude to this devoted scholar.<sup>5</sup> The indisputable fact is that

<sup>1</sup> Zuretti, in his *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), in which he enumerates one hundred and nine manuscripts of Aristophanes housed in Italian libraries (pp. 3-33), adopts no system of symbols for reference.

<sup>2</sup> For Vaticanus-Urbinae 141 since Dobree's time. (Küster used Vat. U.) The practice of Blaydes is not consistent; he designates this manuscript as U, Urb., or Vat.; but in his editions of the *Plutus* and *Nubes*, U = Venetus 473.

<sup>3</sup> Π (=Γ) should be assigned to Laurentianus XXXI. 4. See above p. 271, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Blaydes has made only slight use of Σ.

<sup>5</sup> See the interesting preface to his edition of the text (1886), especially at the beginning and at the close.

they will have his volumes in hand, and the use of the manuscripts should not be further complicated by wilful disregard of his system of nomenclature in any attempt to devise a set of comprehensive symbols. Nevertheless there are other editors, and when Blaydes himself departs from established usage he should not be followed. For example, Dindorf long ago assigned G (Blaydes S) and M (Blaydes Med. 8) respectively to Venetus 475 and Ambrosianus L 39, and he has been followed by editors not only of the scholia but also of the text.<sup>1</sup> Of the remaining capitals, D, if used at all, should certainly designate Brunck's collation of his own manuscript ("Cod. Meus"). This *collation* is variously referred to in the editions as D (first by Brunck himself), E (first by Dindorf), d, P<sup>b</sup>. The manuscript itself has never been used in editing the plays since Brunck's death, but it is now accessible among the Cambridge books and probably no editor will hereafter depend on Brunck's readings, made one hundred and twenty-five years ago. L should no longer be used for Leidensis 52, of which both parts legitimately claim the symbol Γ.<sup>2</sup> N is hopeless. Assigned by Blaydes in 1880 to Monacensis 492, a manuscript which von Velsen had denominated G in 1878,<sup>3</sup> it was applied by von Velsen in 1883 to Monacensis 137, which Blaydes had named M in 1873–74, and in 1901 was assigned by Neil to Ambrosianus L 41!

The abbreviations, generally consisting of three or four letters, that have been used to designate the manuscripts of Aristophanes have been self-interpreting. Sometimes they have referred to the libraries in which the manuscripts were housed, as Bodl., signifying Bodleianus, Laur., Laurentianus; oftener to the owner, especially in England, as Voss., Vossianus, Harl., Harleianus, Ar., Arundelianus, Bar., Baroccianus, D'Orv., D'Orvillianus, Borg., Borgianus; but generally to the town in which the library was

<sup>1</sup> Blaydes himself makes the same use of G and M as Dindorf in his lists of manuscripts containing the scholia, but elsewhere G represents Parisinus 2827 (for which in his *Conspectus* he proposes also Par. 14) and M is Monacensis 137, for which von Velsen in 1883 employed N. Only Graves has followed Blaydes in his use of S; nobody has adopted his Med. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 271, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In his first edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

situated, as Cant., Cantabrigiensis, Havn., Havniensis, Elb., Elbingensis, Leid., Leidensis, Med., Mediolanensis, Mut., Mutinensis, Monac. (Bav.), Monacensis (Bavaricus), Par., Parisinus, Rav., Ravennas, Urb., Urbinas, Tub., Tubingensis, Ven., Venetus. The method last named is easy to apply and the abbreviation is significant of a fact of prime importance. On this basis, setting aside the use of capitals, a general principle, which I have tentatively applied in the list of manuscripts of Aristophanes already published in this journal,<sup>1</sup> might be formulated as follows:

*The symbol shall signify the name of the town in which the manuscript is preserved and shall consist of two letters, the initial capital and by preference the first consonant that follows, otherwise the first vowel.*

Thus Br = Bruxelles, Ln = London, El = Elbing, Tb = Tübingen, Ld = Leyden, Np = Napoli, Md = Madrid, but Mu = München, Pa = Parma, Pe = Perugia, Mo = Moskva (Moscow).

The ultimate form is here the modern name of the town, whereas the abbreviations significant of place that early came into use were compendia of Latin adjective forms, Cantabrigiensis, Havniensis, and the like. The disagreement, however, is here apparent rather than real. There are forty places in which manuscripts of Aristophanes are now to be found. In case of twenty-five of these the application of the principle formulated above gives the same result, whether the basis is the modern or the Latin designation; two of the fifteen that remain disappear because of the use of single capitals; to eight others, that are relatively unimportant, no denomination has as yet been attached by the editors of Aristophanes; the remainder<sup>2</sup> will be considered below. The place, in a few instances, is not readily suggested by the abbreviation, under the rule, of the name now used by its inhabitants. The Danish name of Copenhagen is a case in point; furthermore, the German name of this city is not, in its first part, in literal agreement with the English, French and Italian forms. Here the adoption of H by reversion to 'Havniensis' reconciles all difficulties. Dindorf used Cod. Havniensis 1980 in 1822, and

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 9-20.

<sup>2</sup> Copenhagen, Cambridge, München, Firenze, Modena.

Blaydes has employed the abbreviation *Havn*.<sup>1</sup> *Cn* is applied to *Stamboul* on the same principle. The Greek name of Athens is naturally transliterated and *J* (not previously used) signifies *Jerusalem*. There are manuscripts also on Mt. Athos, Mt. Pelion, Mt. Sinai. These are designated by use of a capital and a small capital, respectively, as *MA*, *MP*, and *Ms*.

The initial capital and the first following vowel have been used in the list as the abbreviation to designate the place in a few cases where the employment of capital and first consonant would give the same abbreviation for two names which both occur, as *Parma* (*Pa*) and *Perugia* (*Pe*), *Caen* (*Ca*) and *Constantinople*, *München* (*Mu*) and *Montpellier*; but *Sa* for *Salamanca* in order to avoid the concurrence of *l* and the following numeral 1.<sup>2</sup>

To the symbol, consisting of two letters or of a capital, employed to designate all the manuscripts housed in any one town numerals are added to distinguish the different books. Porson and Dobree applied this principle to Oxford, Cambridge, and London manuscripts. Blaydes also thus enumerates nine manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,<sup>3</sup> four in Cambridge,<sup>4</sup> three in London,<sup>5</sup> six in Leyden, ten in Milan, twenty-one in Paris. The numeral, since the practice is now settled of designating the different hands in a manuscript by a superior number, should be added on the level of the symbol, not above it. What the number attached to a particular manuscript shall be rests with the editor who first uses the book. In the list of manuscripts given above, a numeral has been added to each manuscript, with due attention

<sup>1</sup> This book contains nine plays and seems likely to play an important part in the determination of the sources of the *Princeps*. It was in Venice in 1699 and has an interesting history. See the references in Graux, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de la Grande Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* (1879), p. 68. See also above, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> By an oversight, the wrong abbreviations of *Torino* and *Verona* have been given in the list; they should be respectively *Tr* and *Vr*.

<sup>3</sup> Blaydes, neglecting Porson's numbers, designates *O1*, *O2*, *O3*, *O4*, *O6*, *O7*, *O8*, *O9*, respectively as *Bodl. 2*, *3*, *1*, *4*, *6*, *7*, *8*, *9*. By *Bodl. 5* he signifies "Bodleianus Kusteri."

<sup>4</sup> He uses Dobree's numbers.

<sup>5</sup> Blaydes, neglecting Dobree's numbers, denominates *Ln3*, *Ln5*, *Ln6* respectively as *Harl. 1*, *2*, *3*.

to previous practice, but this enumeration is merely experimental; the majority of the books have not yet been used.<sup>1</sup>

The symbols suggested in the list in a few cases do not follow the general principle suggested and the reasons for some of these aberrations remain to be stated. In some instances they are only apparent. For example, the designation of the Paris books, under the rule, would be Pr (Blaydes Par.), but they are numerous and the adoption of the significant symbol P for them seems reasonable. P5, P8, and the remainder, are not likely to get confused with any previous use of the single letter P, although it has seen hard service. The symbols A, B, C, of three of the Paris manuscripts are fixed by the previous practice of editors. Of the remainder Blaydes first reported on twelve and to these he has attached numbers, which have been retained in the list so far as was possible.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, but with less ground for objection since the letter has escaped other use, O seems preferable to Ox for the Oxford books. Cm is the proper abbreviation under the rule to denominate the Cambridge manuscripts, but the abbreviations first used by Dobree for four of these (Cant. 1, Cant. 2, etc.) has become so firmly established that Ct seems preferable to Cm. Dobree's numbers have been retained.

Half the manuscripts of Aristophanes are in Italy, but with the exception of R, V, M, the Florence books, and four in the Vatican library, they have been little used. Ten of the Florence manuscripts are designated by Greek capitals; the remaining available Greek capitals would not suffice even for the Laurentian books that have not yet been denominated. Under the rule, manuscripts in Florence, both Laurentiani and Riccardiani, would be designated by Fr; in the list this has been abbreviated, with Rogers, to the significant F, and has been applied in this form to

<sup>1</sup> Eighty-five, if the count is correct, of the total number included in the list, have been used by editors, whether of the text, the scholia, or the prolegomena. These eighty-five include, of course, the most important manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Blaydes denominates P25 (Parisinus 2820) as both F and "Par. 8 bis;" P14 (Parisinus 2827) as both G and "Par. 14;" P23 (Parisinus 2830) as "Par. 16 bis;" P24 (Suppl. 97) as "Par. 18 bis." He has made very slight use of P10, P11, P12, P13, P15. He has attached numbers to P16 (his "Par. 16"), P18 ("Par. 18"), P21 ("Par. 21"), P23 ("Par. 16 bis"), but so far as I am aware has not reported them except "Par. 16" once. His last number is 21.

the books still undenominated. Blaydes has reported three Milan manuscripts besides M<sup>1</sup> and his numbers have been retained. In his *Conspectus* he assigns numbers to six others, but apparently he has not used these.<sup>2</sup> All the books in Modena await an editor, unless, indeed, Bekker's *Mutinenses* m and n are again in the Modena collection, although as yet unidentified. In the list the manuscripts in the *Biblioteca Estense* are denominated E on Kaibel's lead; Zuretti had previously used Es.<sup>3</sup>

Only four manuscripts of the great collections in the Vatican Library, a *Vaticanus*, two *Palatini*, and an *Urbinas*, have been used as yet by editors of the text.<sup>4</sup> The Vatican manuscripts are so numerous that their correct denomination is a matter of unusual importance. The six collections are kept separate in the library and this distinction should be maintained in symbolizing them. In the list V (*Vaticanus*) has been prefixed in each case to a significant lower-case letter designating the collection, with the exception of the two books originally in the library at Urbino.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(*To be continued*)

<sup>1</sup> M4, M5, M9, which he denominates respectively Med. 4, Med. 5, Med. 9. M he denominates Med. 8.

<sup>2</sup> M1, M2, M3, M6, M7, M10, which he makes respectively Med. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel in his discussion of the prolegomena in *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta* I (1899), pp. 3 ff.; Zuretti in his *Analecta Aristophanea*.

<sup>4</sup> Clark excepted. See above, pp. 265 f.